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XXVIII.—*On the Origenes of the Norsemen.* By H. H. HOWORTH, Esq.

[*Read December 10th, 1867.*]

IN a paper I had the honour of reading at Dundee, I endeavoured to show how differently we must view the ancient features of Scandinavia, in order to appreciate its influence in the distribution of the ancient inhabitants of Europe. I now proceed to an examination and analysis of some of the problems in ethnology with which it is connected.

There is little more puzzling in that science than the sudden appearance in the eighth and ninth centuries, in distantly removed districts, of swarms of rovers, bearing the names of Vikings, Danes, Northmen, or Normans, with a strange language, creed, and customs, hailing from the Baltic, and apparently bearing with them few historical traditions. Till the critical science of very late times, inquirers were content to have brought them from the north, or the northern hive, to hold it fruitless to attempt their earlier identification in history, or to give any account of their earlier movements.

Their appearance on the coasts of Ireland, England, Iceland, and France, if we are to credit a pretty well received account, was almost simultaneous,—the respective dates of such invasions being comprised within a period of thirty years. They came everywhere as strangers, and as enemies of the most savage character; they came, too, with weapons and ornaments of a comparatively high degree of finish and artistic taste; with an alphabet and mode of writing of a peculiar and individual character. They were recognised by the Saxons and the Franks, not as old neighbours from the mother country, whence these latter came, and well known to them, but as new acquaintances. They had a maritime vigour and knowledge, which no ingenuity can suppose was suddenly developed (to the compassing of the marvellous feats they performed, in the few years terminating the eighth century), among a long resident and previously immobile people.

Hallam and others find a cause for their sudden activity, and for their ferocity in the Saxon wars of Charlemagne, which are supposed to have sent many of the chiefs of that race beyond the pale of Germany: whence, for two centuries, they repaid the fearful decimation of their race by becoming the gadflies on the sides of all Europe. I hold this view to be untenable.

The Danes and Northmen were very much superior in culture to the Saxons of the Elbe, and in many respects to the Franks of Charlemagne. Their own legends, epics, and war songs, contain no allusions to such a tempting and suggestive source, and they breathe the spirit of another set of traditions altogether. I hold that the only explanation of their many peculiar characteristics is to be found in the fact of their having been but late immigrants into the area whence they emerged so powerfully and so suddenly.

If we examine our authorities, we shall find this view at least consistent with what they relate. Putting aside Pliny, who tells us comparatively nothing of the inhabitants of Scania, the first of these authorities is Ptolemy. He names the Chadini, the Phavonæ, the Phiræsi, the Gutæ, the Dauciones, and the Levoni, as living there. Of these, the Chadini and the Phavonæ are *names* only to myself. The Phiræsi have, with some show of probability, been identified, by Dr. Latham, with the Friesians, whom he shows to have had a large extension in early times, and to have been encroached upon on all sides by the later Danes. The Gutæ are, I suppose, the Goths of Gothland in Scania, a race which modern criticism has disentangled from much false relationship, and which was far from being Norse. The Dauciones bear an obscure name, to be correlated, perhaps, with the Daci of Trajan: the affinities implied in this are certainly not Norse. The Levoni were, I presume, the ancestors of the Livonians, a Finnic race. The Gutæ of Scania were represented in Denmark by the Jutes, who gave its name to Jutland. In all this we may have only negative evidence; but considering the individuality of the Norse race, and the facts about it, which I shall presently adduce, I cannot bring myself to believe that it was included in the enumeration of Ptolemy, or that it could have been excluded if then dwelling there.

We now enter upon a confused period, for I am next going to approach the era of the breaking up of the Roman empire. The causes which led to the vast migrations of the frontier races, have been variously assigned. I confess to a weakness for the respectably orthodox one, that it was by the continuous pressure of one wave on another, backed up at the end by some turbulent and warlike race. I cannot think that this was so sudden, however, as is often supposed. The Rhine was unquestionably a barrier which, when once broken, seemed to let in, all at once, a torrent of barbarous peoples. Beyond the Rhine, however, the pressure of wave on wave had been of long standing,—one wave overrunning another and inducing a mixture of races and a shading off of distinctions, till we find the armies of Alaric and of Attila composed of apparently im-

possible elements, representing pretty faithfully the heterogeneous mixture of types east of the Rhine. Among these races the chief, of course, are those which are generally classed as of the Teutonic family, Saxons, Franks, Goths, *et ejusdem generis*, almost entirely, be it remembered, if not altogether, Low Germans. A very curious inquiry, which has not been much pursued, is the explanation of the traditions, genealogical and religious, which are common to these same Low Germans, with the Norsemen with whom we are interested at present, whence came this common fund of tradition,—this common history. It is unquestionable that the nearest allied language to the Scandinavian now existing, or of which we have any traces, is the Friesic, one of the most widely disseminated at the dawn of our information, and which, if Latham's conjectures be upheld, extended beyond Denmark into Scania. The differentiæ of Friesic and of Norse might afford some answer.

I am one of those who are convinced that distinct species of language are but the inventions of our profound ignorance of the earlier migrations and history of so-called races. That languages are subject to development, and change of a very rapid character, under certain circumstances, is, I suppose, an axiom. That this development and change will tend in different directions in isolated areas is as well established. That the same race coming in contact at two points, with two races thus isolated, will acquire from each, at different points of its extension, distinct peculiarities, connecting such points with their conterminous neighbours, is too probable to need proofs. Will such an explanation help us to understand the peculiarities of the Norse and Saxon, or Friesic languages? Can their common vocabulary and forms be referred to a not remotely identical origin, and their differences to the effects of intercourse with different neighbours? The neighbours of the Norsemen would be the Fins, on the one hand; the Lithuanians, or old Prussians, on the other. The Friesians would have the younger branch of the Celts before them, and behind them the above-named wide-spread race, which it is convenient to refer to, as the Lithuanians or, perhaps better, as the Wends.

The question therefore is, would a Finnic influence account for the peculiarities of Norse, on the one hand, and would a Cymraeg influence account for the distinguishing characteristics of the Low German tongues, on the other? This is a question of immediate interest to many beside ethnologists,—to all who wish to trace our language to earlier fountain heads than Anglo-Saxon, and to all who are dissatisfied with the hard sharp lines of distinction which mark almost universally the classification

of knowledge in its earlier and primitive stages, and which are still the favourite landmarks of philology. I believe it will; and I hope to produce my evidence in another place, and on another occasion.

Having accounted for the distinctions between Norse and the Low German languages, and found reason to trace the main characteristics of each to the same source, we have cleared away one difficulty but to face another. If we fail to find Scandinavia inhabited by Norsemen in the third century, we cannot surely deny the presence of their relatives, the Low Germans, at least, on the borders of the Rhine at a much earlier period. The Belgæ,—who inhabited the Frank area in the days of Cæsar, and who have been the chief bone of contention between Celts and Germans,—I contend, in the days of the Roman conqueror, were Cymraeg, almost perhaps to a typical degree. Yet unquestionably there, as in the vast regions of the Boii, there had begun to be already infused among them an alien or foreign element, to which the name of German is applied by Cæsar, and which consisted of Low Germans alone. This infusion, I consider, became, if not stronger, at least more marked; if it did not alter the blood of the population to any very great extent, it did alter its language, its manners, and its traditions, until the change had effected the creation of the characteristic Saxon and Frank types.

Judging from analogies in Britain, I should say that this new element in the population is to be described rather as a caste than as a general infusion. The chiefs, the warriors, the leading race, the families, belonged to the new and hardy and more developed herd, the labourers, the common soldiers, belonged to the old race, who were on the soil before. This analogy is more than a fanciful one,—it is a part of a great law of human distribution, by which the uppermost layers of its society are recruited and furnished. The explanation of the facts, which I would suggest, as the one meeting the greatest number of requirements, is that from an early date, perhaps from a date considerably earlier than the German campaign of Cæsar, a gradual emigration westward of a Teutonic people, by slow degrees, was changing the type of the inhabitants, and that this change of type had received its highest development in this direction, probably, in the time of Alaric. That then, this mixed race leavened deeply with Teutonic features, extended beyond the Elbe, beyond the further islands of Jutland, and probably in some degree affected the Gutes of South Sweden, whom I agree with Dr. Latham in considering as showing a greater affinity to Lithuanic blood than to that which we are accustomed to associate with the name Goth, at least in early

times. I have said that these immigrants—who more for convenience than as pledging myself to any popular theory,—I call Teutons, constituted the higher ranks of the society of the extra Roman area, and held a common ancestry with the Norsemen, as a portion of their traditional faith.

I have now prepared the ground for the introduction of my next authority; namely, Jornandes, who was bishop of Ravenna about A.D. 530, and himself of Gothic descent. In his history of the Goths, he deduces them from the island of Scanzia,—a derivation due more to the name it bore of Gothland* than to any capability it had for sending out such a numerous race as they were, and in my opinion due to this alone. He says that many and diverse peoples dwelt there, and among them names the Sorethans, the Vagoth, Bergio, Hallin, Liothida, the Athelnil, Finnaithæ, Fervir, Gautigoth, the Ostrogoths, Raumaricæ, *Rauquariciv*, Finni, Vinovilo, Suetludi, and the Dani, who drove the Heruli from their country, and who among all the nations of Scanzia affect the greatest reputation. There are also the Grannii, the Agauzia, Unixæ, Ethelrugi, Arochiranisi, over whom Rodulf was king. These names are suggestive of a great deal of commentary; but on this occasion it will suffice to say that they bear unmistakable traces of the Teutonic speech about them, and are evidence of how great an infusion had then taken place. Jornandes makes the Goths, on leaving Scanzia, settle among the Ulnaenji, on the banks of the ocean, a distinctly Norse name, and having conquered the Vandals, with many cognate tribes, advanced towards the Euxine, conquering on the way the Sclavi† and Antes.

In all this we see the Wendic and Lithuanian tribes, north of the Danube, gradually overpowered by Teutonic conquerors, driven away from their homes by others whose Teutonic blood was even more pronounced, such as the Dani; and we can, perhaps, trace the spread of the Norsemen,—but we may approach this from another point. Granting that there may be much foundation for the opinions I have stated to you, as to the gradual supersession of an inferior by a superior race in the north of Europe before the eighth and ninth century; there can be no question that, at those dates, this movement received a very sudden and pronounced accession of energy. Either an immigration of fresh tribes on a large scale, or a sudden seizing of its inhabitants with a religious or an adven-

* The Lithuanians call the Russians Guthes.

† Sclavi—first mentioned in 495—were driven north by the Bulgarians, and built Novgorod and Kief.

turous frenzy, can alone explain the facts they present us with;—either an advance of the main body in the track of the pioneers whom I have mentioned, or the preaching and dissemination of a stirring creed. For at these dates, and thence forward, we find the name and ensign of the Northmen advertised in every corner of Europe, founding a new aristocracy wherever it went, and leavening the stagnation of a long sleep, with objects and incentives to exertion.

The names borne by the new-comers offer us little assistance,—Norsemen or Normans are merely indices of geographical position in relation to France or Britain; Vikingr is descriptive merely of their occupation and status, namely, lordlings of the creeks. The name Dane offers, at first sight, more promise; but I have no faith in it. It has conjecturally many derivations. I confess to finding none so plausible as that the word Dane is identical with the root of Danube, Danester or Dniester, Tanais, or Don, etc., meaning water, and in our instance having reference to the marshy and watery nature of the peninsula of Denmark. I know of no mention of it earlier than Jornandes, as applied to a northern race; and in my opinion it means merely “marshmen,” and is probably a free translation of Vikingr.

Simultaneously with the westernly piratical expeditions, to which I have made reference, we find, according to Nestor, and many other authorities, the eastern shores of the Baltic, the Russian provinces of Livonia and Great Russia, and the rivers running into the Black Sea and Caspian, subject to a similar scourge, known to the northern chroniclers as Varajians, or *werings*, and to the Byzantine writers—who had reason to know them, considering how their fleets had ravaged the shores of the Bosphorus, and penetrated to the Ægean,—they were known as “Rhas”, or Russi. One of their leaders, Ruric, founded, as is well known, the first Russian dynasty at Novgorod; and many other names, such as Biorm, contained in the Byzantine chronicles, enable us to fix their nationality as Norse. This is confirmed remarkably by a passage of Constantine Porphyrogenitus who, in giving an account of the rapids of the Dneiper, gives their names in two forms, as known to the Russi and the Slavonians. The former series have been elaborately discussed by Lehrberg, and have been shown to be most unquestionably Norse. To this may be added the fact that Nestor’s account, and the traditions of the Russians, brings these invaders from the Baltic and the Swedish peninsula; and that in the descriptions of their fleets, weapons, and manners, we cannot be mistaken in at once identifying them with the Danes of the west,—and they have been, in fact, so identified by every inquirer into the subject.

We are justified in the generalisation, therefore, that while the Danes were regenerating the west, the same good offices were being performed for Russia by the Russi, giving their name to its wide tracts of marsh, and steppe, and mountain, and binding into something like a homogeneous whole the scattered tribes of Fins, Hungarians, Wends, and Slaves, who then inhabited it. The early settlements of the Russians, or rather the area in which we first find them, contained Aldenborg (now Old Ladoga), Rotola, in the present gulf of Revel, Alaborg, in the gulf of Olonetz, and Holmgard in Archangel. The capital of the old Varajians was Biarma, on Lake Ladoga. It was hence the Byzantines brought them, Choniata calls them Northern Scyths, and when the Arab geographers mention them, it is also here that they are placed. Now, it is at least remarkable that in this very area, or as near it as ancient topography enabled men to know it, we find in classic times a nation,—familiar no doubt to most of you by name—the Rhoxolani, containing the same root, *rhos* or *russ*; and it is here that the anonymous Ravenna places them. This root has been derived from the Norse *rasu*, “to run”, etc.,—a guess merely; a much more satisfactory, and to me perfectly conclusive etymology; one, too, adopted by the continental ethnologists, is found in the name given by the modern Fins, the collateral descendants of the Ugrian inhabitants of the Ukraine (from whom the Greeks would receive the name), to the Swedes and Norsemen of the present day. They call them Ruotsalanien, and their country Ruotsi. Ruotsalanien is word for word the same as Roxolani. Tacitus, in giving an account of the reign of Otho, A.D. 69, says, “that the Rhoxolani, a people of Sarmathia, who the preceding winter had cut off two cohorts, invaded Mæsia with 9,000 horse. Their weapons are long spears or sabres, of an enormous size, which they wield with both hands. The chiefs wear coats of mail, formed with plates of iron sewn on tough hides, impenetrable to an enemy’s weapons, but very cumbrous to the wearer.” If this description applies to any ancient tribes we know, it is surely to the northern pirates, with their iron armour and two-handed swords.

We must now fix their relations to other tribes in their neighbourhood. To do this, we must go to Strabo, who tells us, in speaking of Sarmathia, that in the inland dwell the Bastarnæ, and comprised with the Tyragetæ and the Germans; indeed they may almost be said to be of the German stock. They are divided into many tribes, as some are called Atmoni, some Sidones; those who inhabit the inland, Pence in the Danube, Periani; and the most northern, Roxolani,—these latter depasture the plains lying between the Don and the

Dnieper, whether any dwell still further than the Roxolani is unknown to us. However, the Roxolani fought against the generals of Mithridates Eupator; their leader was Tasius; they came as allies of Palarus, the son of Scilurus. In the winter, they encamp on the marshes near the Palus Mæotis, and in the summer on the plains. Here we find them, associated with other tribes, under the name Bastarnæ, and in a treaty with Hadrian, they are mentioned with them and the Daci. The Bastarnæ have always been held to have been Germans by ethnologists. Plutarch distinguishes them particularly for their brawny stature, bravery, and intense love of fighting. A fragment of Scymnus, quoted by Latham, makes them immigrants into the area they occupied. I hold these various facts to establish that the very heavy balance of evidence is in favour of our identifying the Norsemen with the Roxolani. We must now go further. The Fins call a Swede Ruots Alain: a German, Sax Alain; and a Livonian, Wir Alain, *alain* means "men" with them. The specific name *ruots* means, in Fin, "red-haired": thus, a red-haired cow is called *russ kia*; Roxolani, therefore, means "red-haired men". Now, this happens to be an exact translation of the term Sarmati,—*sar* or *saur* in Gothic, and *sarga*, in Hungarian, means "red-dish yellow". *Mati* or *Meta*, "Medes", is derived from the Persic *mat* or *mad*, "tribe, people", a widely distributed generic name, which alone is found applied to these tribes in the inscriptions from the Bosphorus. Sarmatia is also called Sargatia by Ptolemy. Who, then, were the Sarmati? Latham, with a consistent zeal, always takes it for granted they were Sclavonians, and so do most English ethnologists; for this view there does not seem to me to be the slightest foundation. The Sclaves, as distinguished from their Wendic neighbours, appeared in Russia only when driven north by the Bulgarians. Strabo speaks of the Tauromatæ as synonymous with Scythians, and stations them on the plains between the Tanais and the Caspian; and speaking of the seventy Caucasian nations who assembled at Dioscurias, he says they were chiefly Sarmathians; in another place he associates them with the Bastarnæ. Herodotus tells us, the Sauromatæ talk the language of Scythia, but not correctly. This may mean something, as I shall show presently.

Far from making the Sarmati Sclaves, I conceive them to have been Teutons, bordered on the north by, perhaps, Teutons of purer blood, known to the Fins as Roxolani; that they bordered the northern shores of the Euxine, and were the ancestors of the emigrants who in later times founded the Gothic kingdom in the Crimea; that whether under the name of Roxolani, Bas-

tarnæ, or Sarmati, they were the same people or peoples; shading off into differences on their southern and western borders, becoming Daci on the one hand; and Vandals—the Wend Alainen of the Fins, whose kings were of Gothic blood—on the other. In many places, no doubt, especially in the steppe, corrupted very strongly with Ugrian characteristics; in the north, gradually recruited from the Caspian shores, becoming the ancestors of the Norsemen, founding there a state which once obeyed the strong arm of Mithridates,—the half-fabulous hero of more traditions than many are aware of. On his defeat by Pompey, and on the scattering of his peoples,—advancing further into individualism; and on the approach of Attila (after whose days we hear no more of Roxolani), rushing into their quarters in the north, and dislodging thence the troublesome pirates who gave their name to the Saxon shore.

The same area which is occupied by Sarmati in the accounts of some authors, is filled by others with a well-known name,—a puzzle to ethnologists,—the Alani: most make them a Turkish race, on very insufficient grounds. The name is word for word the Fin term Alainen, applied apparently indifferently to their neighbours. In the pages of the classical authors, however, it becomes specific. They are associated, by some writers, with the Peucini and the Bastarnæ; by some, with the Cestobocci and Roxolani; by others, with the Gothic tribes of Alaric,—all, be it remembered, of Teutonic blood. They added their cavalry to the Goths of Radagasus. They invaded Gaul A.D. 405; settled in Lusitania in 414; made another settlement about Valence and Orleans, and gave their name to Catalonia, etc. In all these cases it were hard to make them other than relatives of the Goths.

Ammianus (22, 8, 31), tells us that, around the marshes of the Mæotis, there are many tribes, differing in language and institutions. The Jaxamataë and the Mæotæ, the Jazyges, and the Roxolani and the Alani . . . Close to the Riphean mountains live the Massagetæ, the Alani, and the *Sargetæ* (*i. e.*, the inhabitants of Sargatia). Again; to the east of the Tanais dwell the Alani, occupying a great area in the deserts of Scythia; they receive their names from the mountains they inhabit. Many nations whom they have conquered have adopted their names, as was the case with the Persians; among these in Europe are the Neuri, who occupy close to the sea, in a mountainous country, where they are hardened by the northern cold. The Geloni, very savage, who make clothes and horse-trappings out of their enemies' skins. . . . On the other side, westwards, and close to the Amazons, the Alani,—I am told their dwellings reach as far as the Ganges. . . . Again, I

will not name the many peoples known under the name of Alani, resembling each other in manners, ferocity, and method of waging war. They do not live in houses, nor do they know the use of the chariot; they live on beef and milk. They are good soldiers, and well disciplined. They were then bounded on the west by the Ostrogoths. Ptolemy places them to the north of the Massagetæ, towards the modern Kirghiz steppe. Pliny, at an earlier day, places the Alani in the same neighbourhood,—most subsequent writers put Roxolani. Numbers of them appear in the armies of Alaric; and by Claudian they are repeatedly mentioned as White Huns. It would be idle for me to quote from the authorities. Both the Chinese and Arabic writers have confirmed their position here; to both they are known under the name of Ala or Allan. The former date their first expedition westward, in B.C. 40, but it was only partial, as the Alanna were still found on the Jaxartes, which, by the way, is also called the Ross. In the second century, they are related to have overthrown the Greek kingdom of Bactria. Nicephorus Gregorius identifies them with the Massagetæ; Tacitus, with the Sarmati. I would rather condense the opinion I have arrived at from a close comparison of at least a hundred authorities,—that the Alani of Ammianus were of the same race as the Sarmati and the Roxolani. After the fifth century, history no longer knows the name of Alani, save as a Caucasian race, who were gradually driven into the mountains, as related by the Arabs. Their history thenceforward I meant to make the subject of another paper. The conclusion of it to be that the Ossetes of the Caucasus—the Iron, as they call themselves,—are the undoubted descendants of these Alani, with whom their traditions and a volume of proofs connect them. The Os, or As, is a noted name in ethnology. Their identification with the Alani removes all the difficulties about the Osiliens of Ptolemy,—the Jaxamates, which name Ammianus and others write for Sarmates,—the Asi of Æschylus and of the Argonautic legend, who gave their name to Asia.

I have here merely condensed the results of a long correlation of facts, which I hope to present in another place. This conclusion, however, if justified, ought to be checked by the comparison of the Ossetic customs and language with those of the Norsemen. There are few who have had opportunities of making such a comparison, the country of the Ossetes being almost unknown. The Baron de Haxthausen, one of the few who have penetrated it, was particularly struck with this resemblance; his pages teem with references to customs which are common to the two peoples. Klapproth, in his essay on

their language, refers at some length to the large infusion of Low German, which it contains ; and this conclusion has been confirmed by Sjögern, who has written an elaborate grammar and vocabulary of the language.

We thus find evidence accumulating on all hands to justify us in drawing the race of the northern pirates from the head shores of the Caspian, and the plains, or rather marshes, north of the Caucasus. Among the rivers and pools of the regions of the Don long boats are still used, which travellers have referred to as similar to those described in the Saxon Chronicles. Here are found pillar stones and other objects neglected by antiquaries, which are covered with the earlier forms of runes, and furnish the best link in tracing the history of that strange alphabet to its fountain head in the Persian cruciform inscriptions. Here was placed the country of the Asi, whence Odin, according to the northern Scalds, brought his followers and his religion. Here was placed the half mythical Asgard, which the cuneiform inscriptions have at length rescued from the character of being no more than a poetic figment ; the name Asagarta occurring repeatedly among them. Here may be found buildings to compare with and furnish explanations of the Picts' houses of the Orkneys. Here, within the limits of the Parthian empire may be found ornaments of silver and gold covered with the decorations also found in northern relics, and of which a large collection of armlets and bands discovered in England may be seen in the magnificent collection at Edinburgh. Here are still found iron workers, whose traditional skill is celebrated in the Arabian accounts of the Alani, and who may well be the descendants of the iron-loving smiths of the Eddas ; and lastly, in this derivation may be found what, I venture to say, is the only explanation of the fact that of all living languages the Scandinavian are by far the most nearly allied to the Zend and other ancient forms of the Persian.

Own brothers these Norsemen were of the Parthians. The breaking up of the Parthian empire set many of them adrift no doubt. The Persian legends are full of accounts of them ; the mountains of Affghanistan retain traces of them ; the Chinese frontiers felt their influence, and they did the work of regenerating Europe.

The reason for their sudden energy in the eighth and ninth centuries are to be found in the commotions that were taking place in this area at those dates. The Mahometans were then in the full swing of their crusading spirit—if I may use the phrase. The Georgian and Armenian annals are full of accounts of their sweeping in among the mountains of the Caucasus, and of the new life which their arrival aroused there.

Many of the wild Kurdish and Caucasian religious legends trace their origin to this period, or mingling of two religions, parallel to the Gnosticism in Europe. The warlike tone of Mahomet's trumpet may perhaps find its distant echo in the war-cry of Naguar Lodbrog. The inexplicable intricacies of the Eddic faith may perhaps receive some light from an examination of the effects of a Mohammedan infusion into the strange religion of the Parthians. Not that of Zoroaster, the religion of its higher society, but that we find reflected on its engraved gems and sculptured stones.

It is this alone which can explain the very extraordinary fact that wherever Scandinavian relics are found in Ireland, in Orkney, in Denmark, in Sweden, there are also found heaps of Cufic coins and of the coins of the Caliphate; not many from Byzantium, few from the Latin kingdoms of the west, but absolutely thousands from these other sources. Some may be seen by those curious in such matters in Edinburgh, which were discovered with the silver remains I have referred to.

I have now done, and feel constrained to apologise for having trespassed so much on your patience. My only justification is to be found in the dim mystery which surrounds early European ethnology. In the fact that the key to its secrets is to be found in the gradual unravelling of later difficulties before we approach earlier ones, and that in the solutions I have ventured to present you, I humbly hope to have found a better solution of those difficulties than was current before.